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## ALFRED TENNYSON AS A CELTICIST

The few non-Celtic romances and chronicles which form the chief sources of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* have long been known, and it has generally been assumed that the poet's direct contact with Arthurian tradition in Celtic scarcely extended beyond Lady Guest's translation of the *Mabinogion*.<sup>1</sup> That this assumption is unjustified forms the burden of the following observations. Even the brief sketch here given should establish the fact that Tennyson responded as heartily to the early nineteenth-century revival of Celtic antiquities as he did to other phases of contemporary investigation.

Veuillent les immortels, protecteurs de ma langue,  
Que je ne dise rien qui doive être repris!

At the outset it is improbable that, in composing a series of poems on a theme which fascinated his imagination from youth to old age, a writer of Tennyson's scholarly tastes and omnivorous literary habits, should have confined his reading to a few medieval romances and one or two Latin chronicles, when supposedly more authentic sources of information were accessible in the works of Celticists who claimed to present King Arthur as he appeared before he was "touch'd by the adulterous finger" of a later age. Nor is direct evidence lacking. Even in boyhood, when, as the poet himself tells us,<sup>2</sup> he first lighted upon Malory, Tennyson was investigating in modern treatises and original sources the poetry and history of the ancient Celts. Inspired by the newly revived Ossianic controversy, he dipped into Macpherson's "Dissertation concerning the Poems of Ossian,"<sup>3</sup> and "The Druid's Prophecies," written

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the general impression, Tennyson, according to his own statement, was not fond of romances and, in fact, prior to 1853 had never read through even the *Morte Darthur*. See Alfred Lord Tennyson, *A Memoir by His Son*, 1897, I, 194. For an account of Tennyson's chief sources, see especially M. W. MacCallum, *Tennyson's Idylls of the King and Arthurian Story*, 1894; Walther Willenweber, *Über Tennysons Königsideylle The Coming of Arthur und ihre Quellen* (Marburg dissn.), 1889; Harold Littledale, *Essays on Lord Tennyson's Idylls of the King*, 1893; Richard Jones, *Growth of the Idylls of the King*, 1895. Cf. *Morte Darthur*, ed. Sommer, 1891, III 3, ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Mem.*, II, 128. Cf. *Mem.*, I, xii.

<sup>3</sup> See Tennyson's quotation in the note to "On Sublimity" (*Poems by Two Brothers*, 1827: Facsimile edition, 1893, p. 107). For the source, see Tauchnitz *Ossian*, 1847, p. 34. Another note (p. 72) shows that Tennyson had been reading Macpherson's 485]

by Tennyson between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, was suggested by the description of the Roman slaughter of the druids on the Isle of Anglesey given in Tacitus' *Annales* (xiv. 30).<sup>1</sup>

In a manuscript sketch of an Arthurian composition written about 1833,<sup>2</sup> when Tennyson was borrowing books from the Cambridge University library and was studying hard,<sup>3</sup> the poet refers to "King Arthur's three Guineveres" and to "two Guineveres," which latter he interprets as "primitive Christianity" and "Roman Catholicism." No better evidence could be adduced of Tennyson's early acquaintance with Welsh Arthurian tradition. The source of the story that Arthur had three wives, each named Gwenhwyfar, is the so-called historical Welsh *Triads*,<sup>4</sup> several versions of which had appeared without translation in 1801 in the famous *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (II, 1 ff.). As there is no evidence that Tennyson knew Welsh in 1833, he probably ran across the necessary information in one or both of two works which in his day were widely quoted and were regarded as indispensable to any serious investigator of British antiquities during the first half of the nineteenth century. They are William Owen's *Cambrian Biography: or*

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"Dissertation concerning the Æra of Ossian" (*Ossian*, p. 11) or the Argument to "Comala." Tennyson's early poetry is full of Ossianic echoes. Late in life Tennyson branded Macpherson's work as "poor in most parts," but he still remembered certain of the finer passages. See *Mem.*, I, 256, n.; A. P. Graves, *Irish Lit'y and Musical Studies*, 1913, p. 9. In 1880, while in conversation with the Anglo-Irish poet William Allingham, he showed an acquaintance with genuine Ossianic tradition (*William Allingham, A Diary*, ed. H. Allingham and D. Radford, 1908, p. 298). He once told Alfred Perceval Graves that he much desired to write an Irish poem, and the latter sent him Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances* (1879), hoping that Tennyson would choose an Ossianic theme, preferably *Oisín i Tír na n-Óg* (Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9). The result was "The Voyage of Maeldune" (1880), in which, according to Hallam Tennyson (*Mem.*, II, 254), the poet attempted "to represent in his own original way the Celtic genius." Although Tennyson's interest in Ireland was largely political, he, like Renan and Arnold, believed in the superior poetic genius of the Celt (*Mem.*, II, 338), and some of his most famous lines were inspired by Irish scenes and events. See further Henry Van Dyke, *Selections from Tennyson* (Ath. Press), p. xxxvii; *Tennyson and his Friends*, ed. Hallam, Lord Tennyson, 1911, pp. 144 f.; *Letters of William Allingham*, ed. H. Allingham and E. B. Williams, 1911, *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> *Poems by Two Brothers*, p. 69. Cf. *Cambridge Tennyson*, p. 762, and "Boádicea" (1859), *ibid.*, pp. 266 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Mem.*, II, facing p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> See *Mem.*, I, 124, 129, 130. Late in 1833 Tennyson received from Cambridge a copy of Thomas Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*, which had appeared in 1828. Keightley's work contains discussions of the fairy lore of many countries, including Ireland, Wales, and Brittany. Much of Keightley's material is drawn from T. Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, which Tennyson also knew and which he used in his poetry. Cf. Littledale, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 129, 240, 281. For Tennyson's knowledge and use of William Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, see *Mem.*, II, 319, note.

<sup>4</sup> There are numerous series of triads. See Ferdinand Walter, *Das alte Wales*, 1859, pp. 9 ff., 36 ff.

*Historical Notices of Celebrated Men among the Ancient Britons* (1803),<sup>1</sup> and Edward Davies' *Mythology and Rites of the British Druids* (1809).<sup>2</sup> The former was a convenient handbook compiled, in part from unprinted sources, by an eminent authority and co-editor of the *Myvyrian Archæology*, the latter based partly on original material and famous because of the helio-arkite mysteries supposedly unearthed by its learned author. The Gwenhwyfar tradition in Welsh gives special prominence to Arthur's second and third queens, of whom the latter is said to have betrayed her lord, whereas the former was especially beloved by him and was in consequence buried by his side at Glastonbury. The infidelity of one of Arthur's consorts, thus assumed in ancient Welsh tradition and set forth in greater detail in Lady Guest's notes (*Mab.*, Part I, 1838) and in the *Hanes Cymru* (1842),<sup>3</sup> furnished a strong incentive for Tennyson's retention of Malory's adulterous Gueneuer in spite of nineteenth-century prudishness.<sup>4</sup>

In the earliest preserved outline of an epic, written also about 1833, Tennyson describes "the sacred mount of Camelot," which he places "on the latest limit of the West in the land of Lyonesse, where, save the rocky Isles of Scilly, all is now wild sea."<sup>5</sup> When the poet removed Camelot from its traditional position inland<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *S.v.* Gwenhwyvar, p. 158. About 1806 Owen added the name Pughe to his former appellation. See his life in Robert Williams' *Enwogion Cymru* (1852), where, by the way, Tennyson could have confirmed his earlier impression that there were three Guineveres. In 1838 he could have found a reference to Arthur's three queens in the notes to Part I of Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*, and in 1842 in Villemarqué's *Contes populaires des anciens Bretons* (see p. 226 of *Les Romans de la Table Ronde et les Contes des anciens Bretons*, nouv. ed., 1861). See also Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 1913, II, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Tennyson may conceivably have been acquainted with the complete translations of the Triads in William Probert's *Ancient Laws of Cambria* (1823, pp. 393, 410) and in Vols. I, II, and III of *The Cambro-Briton* (1820-22), but they are not so likely to have been known to him as the books by Owen and Davies.

<sup>3</sup> See also [Algernon Herbert] *Britannia after the Romans*, 1836, pp. 91 ff., where, as in Tennyson's note, ancient British tradition is interpreted allegorically. Cf. Thomas Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, 1849, p. 82. On Tennyson's knowledge of the *Hanes Cymru*, see *infra*, p. 490.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rhŷs, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, 1891, p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Mem.*, II, 122.

<sup>6</sup> For various identifications of this illusive place, see Foerster, *Christian von Troyes sämliche Werke*, 1899, IV, 362 f.; Howard Maynard, *The Arthur of the English Poets*, 1907, p. 183, n.; Percy's *Reliques*, notes to "King Ryence's Challenge," where, in a passage quoted from Stow's *Annales of England*, Camelot is described as "sometimes a famous towne or castle . . . situate on a very high tor or hill." In 1839 Tennyson ran across an English poem on the flooding of a whole district of Wales through the carelessness of the drunken Seithenin—a story referred to in the Triads (cf. Probert, *op. cit.*, p. 393) and other Welsh documents (*Mem.*, I, 173). Later he doubtless read a full account of the catastrophe in the notes to Part VII (1849) of the *Mabinogion*. The tradition is referred to by Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 242, and Bingley, *North Wales*, 1804, II, 20. See also Camden, *Britannia* (Gough), 1806, I, 78, 91.

located it in the submerged district which, according to an oft-recorded tradition, once formed part of the peninsula of Cornwall,<sup>1</sup> he was doubtless actuated by reasons more cogent than a mere poetic fancy arising from the fact that in the source of "The Lady of Shalott" Camelot is placed near the sea.<sup>2</sup> In a conversation said to have taken place in 1860<sup>3</sup> Tennyson expressed the conviction that Arthur was an historical personage and that the original scene of his exploits was Cornwall, "though old Speed's narrative has much that can be only traditional." The book referred to is John Speed's *History of Great Britaine*, first published in 1611 as a continuation of the author's *Theatre of Great Britaine*. In connection with an extended discussion of the background of Arthurian tradition, Speed reaches the conclusion that the historical Arthur lived in Cornwall, adding, "*Tindagell Castle* . . . first brought into the world this glorious *Prince*, . . . and *Cambula* receiued his last bloud" (p. 317). Sharon Turner in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, with which, as we shall see in a moment, Tennyson was also acquainted, takes much the same position,<sup>4</sup> and Thomas Stephens<sup>5</sup> argues that the *mabinogion* which fix Arthur's seat and exploits in Cornwall are the earliest and asserts that "long after the rest of the world had turned their eyes to Caerlleon," the Welsh bards "persisted in confining him to Cornwall." In this connection it should be observed that, although Tennyson made several excursions into Wales,<sup>6</sup> his most extensive investigations of local antiquities appear to have been in Cornwall.<sup>7</sup> Especially important are the visits of 1848 and 1860. On the former occasion he discussed Arthurian matters with the poet-antiquarian Hawker and borrowed

<sup>1</sup> For early printed accounts of the submergence of Lyonesse, see Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, a new impression, 1916, pp. 190 ff. See further Dunlop, *History of Fiction* (1814), American reprint of 2d London ed., 1842, I, 169. The legend of Lyonesse was current among Cornish fishermen of Tennyson's day (M. A. Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*, 1890, p. 67), and when Tennyson was cruising off the Land's End in 1887, he gazed into the depths of the sea, "searching, as he said, for some ruins of town or castle, parts of the ancient Lyonesse" (*Mem.*, II, 340).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cambridge Tennyson*, p. 797.

<sup>3</sup> See *Memories of Old Friends, Being Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox*, ed. H. N. Pym, 1882, II, 274 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. I, pp. 272 ff., of the 4th (1823) ed. The work appeared originally in parts between 1799 and 1805.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 319, 416. Cf. *Cambrian Journal*, 1859, p. 337; Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poet*, ed. of 1871, I, 97.

<sup>6</sup> *Mem.*, I, 173, 222; II, 108, 125; "The Golden Year," *Cambridge Tennyson*, p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> *Mem.*, I, 274 ff., 460 f., 465 f., 513; II, 125, 340, 385; *Tennyson and His Friends*, pp. 145, 329, n.; Caroline Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 138 f., 274 f.

books and manuscripts about King Arthur, including R. J. King's *Fairy Mythology of Tintadgel*.<sup>1</sup>

The portrayal of Arthur as an ideal man, Tennyson justified from early documents, one at least of which he regarded as representing ancient Celtic tradition. In support of his position he cited the following passage from "an old writer:" "In short God has not made since Adam was, a man more perfect than Arthur."<sup>2</sup> The passage, as Hallam Tennyson indicates, is translated from the Welsh *Brut ab Arthur*, which the poet, in common with a number of respectable authorities of his day, regarded as the source rather than the pendant of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*.<sup>3</sup> After learning Welsh, Tennyson might have consulted the original in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (II, 299: *Ac ar vyrder ni wnaeth Duw or pan vu Ada un dyn gwblach noc Arthur*); he actually found the translation in Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.<sup>4</sup>

That Tennyson's reading before the publication of the first *Idylls* (1859) had led him into the domain of Breton tradition, is implied in a letter written in 1855 to the Breton poet Hippolyte Lucas.<sup>5</sup> When the laureate made an excursion into Brittany in 1864, he visited numerous places associated with Arthur.<sup>6</sup> He knew Renan, and when the author of *La poésie des races celtiques* called on Tennyson in London, the two discussed Breton antiquities.<sup>7</sup> While in Brittany, Tennyson made an unsuccessful effort to meet Villemarqué, and his remark to Renan that "Villemarqué est plus poète que savant" implies that he was acquainted at least with the unscrupulous Breton nobleman's *Barzaz-Breiz*,<sup>8</sup> a widely

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, 1905, pp. 190 ff.; *Mem.*, I, 274. From Hawker, Tennyson appears to have derived the spelling "Dundagil," afterwards changed to "Tintagil" in line 292 of "Guinevere." Cf. *Idylls of the King*, 1859, p. 240. See further [R. H. Shepherd], *Tennysonianana*, 1866, p. 115, n.; *The Poetical Works of . . . Hawker*, 1899, p. 160; Camden, *Britannia* (Gough), 1806, I, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Mem.*, I, 194; II, 128 f.

<sup>3</sup> For a balance of early opinion, see Stephens, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 ff. Cf. Walter, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.; *Mem.*, II, 121, 129; Warton, *op. cit.*, I, 98.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. cited, I, 271, n. 13. The passage is lacking in Geoffrey's Latin (Book IX, chap. i)—a fact which may have strengthened Tennyson's conviction that the Welsh represents a more authentic tradition.

<sup>5</sup> *Mem.*, I, 385, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Mem.*, II, 5, 232. That Brittany is the home of Arthurian tradition, was maintained by various authorities during the first half of the last century. See, for example, Dunlop, *op. cit.*, I, 137; De la Rue, *Essais historiques*, 1834, I, 63 ff.; Stephens, *op. cit.*, pp. 416 ff.; Thomas Wright, *Hist. of King Arthur*, 1858, I, v; Villemarqué, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, ed. cit., pp. 21 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Mem.*, II, 232; Francis Epinasse, *Life of Ernest Renan*, 1895, p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> First published in 1839. For other works of Villemarqué's which may have been known to Tennyson, see Littledale, *op. cit.*, p. 3, n. 43. An English translation of the *Barzaz-Breiz*, by Tom Taylor, appeared in 1865.

circulated collection of alleged Celtic traditional songs, some of which had been proved spurious by Luzel in 1872.<sup>1</sup>

The Welsh romance of *Geraint ap Erbin*, with an English translation and notes, was published in 1840 as Part III of Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*,<sup>2</sup> but it was not until the spring of 1856 that it was used by Tennyson<sup>3</sup> as the source of the idyll of "Enid."<sup>4</sup> By the summer of 1856 the poet, with the assistance of Welsh schoolmasters, had learned some Welsh, and according to his son,<sup>5</sup> he and his wife "now read together the *Hanes Cymru*, . . . the *Mabinogion* and *Llywarch Hen*." By the *Mabinogion* is of course meant Lady Guest's edition. The work first mentioned is the *Hanes Cymru*, a *Chenedl y Cymry, o'r Cynoesoedd hyd at Farwolaeth Llewelyn ap Gruffydd*; that is, "History of Wales and of the Welsh People, from Antiquity till the Death of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd." This book, written by the distinguished Welsh scholar and antiquarian Thomas Price, appeared in 1842, and, as it was compiled from original sources, some unprinted, it long remained the standard native authority on the early history of Britain. The third book read by Tennyson in his study of Welsh is *The Heroic Elegies and other Pieces of Llywarch Hen, Prince of the Cambrian Britons*, a collection of ancient Welsh poems accompanied by a translation and an introduction on the bardic system, and published in 1792 by William Owen, the compiler of the *Cambrian Biography*.<sup>6</sup> Tennyson's knowledge of Welsh was probably not extensive. Only in the case of the *Hanes Cymru* was he forced to translate his text without a "crib," and Price's book should occasion no trouble to one reasonably conversant with modern Welsh.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De l'authenticité des chants du Barzaz-Breiz*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I of the *Mabinogion* contains Parts I (1838) and II (1839); Vol. II, Parts III (1840), IV (1842), and V (1843); Vol. III, Parts VI (1845) and VII (1849). The three volumes were bound with separate title-pages dated 1849.

<sup>3</sup> For Tennyson's use of other *mabinogion*, see Littledale, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 f.; see also p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Mem.*, I, 414 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Mem.*, I, 416.

<sup>6</sup> Tennyson may have learned of the *Hanes Cymru* and *The Heroic Elegies* from Lady Guest's notes to *Geraint* (*Mab.*, II, 145, 151), where both are referred to. They are frequently cited by early nineteenth-century writers on the Celts.

<sup>7</sup> Between 1856 and 1859 Tennyson discovered "that the 'E' of 'Enid' was pronounced short (as if it were spelt 'Ennid')" (!) and accordingly changed "wedded Enid" in line 4 of the earlier version to "married Enid" as it now appears in "The Marriage of Geraint" (*Mem.*, II, 125, n.2). On the point, see *Dosparth Ederyn Davod Aur*, tr. John Williams, ab Ithel, 1856, p. 5, where just this pronunciation is given for

Tennyson completed the original draft of "Merlin and Nimuë" in March, 1856. As is implied in the legend *Enid and Nimuë: The True and the False*, which appeared on the title-page of the earliest volume of *Idylls*, printed in 1857,<sup>1</sup> Tennyson's choice of the story of "Enid" as his next subject was partly determined by the contrast between the heroine and the guileful nymph of the preceding idyll. There is, however, another and an equally cogent reason why Tennyson should have felt that no Arthurian epic ought to lack an account of Geraint. Not only must Tennyson's avowed faith in a historical Arthur<sup>2</sup> have found strong confirmation in Price's twelve-page discussion of that hero, but the poet must have been impressed with the Welsh scholar's explicit assertion that no history of Arthur should disregard Geraint.<sup>3</sup> According to the *Marwnad Geraint ab Erbin*, published in the *Heroic Elegies*<sup>4</sup> and quoted in part in the *Hanes Cymru*, Geraint perished while serving with Arthur in the battle of Llongporth, a tradition which, although lacking in the *mabinogi* of *Geraint*, Tennyson utilized in the last two lines of "Enid" as first written.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most far-reaching and as yet neglected influences during the Romantic revival of British antiquities emanated from a collection of Welsh material of various ages and degrees of trustworthiness, made during the late eighteenth century by Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg) and printed in various books, notably

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early Welsh *e*. For the correct value, see John Strachan, *An Introduction to Early Welsh*, 1909, p. 2. That modern Welsh *e* may be either long or short, Tennyson might, of course, have learned from any one of several grammars. The fanciful etymology of *Nimuë* referred to by Tennyson (*Mem.*, II, 366), I have been unable to run down. It suggests the discussion of "*nynu*, to kindle," in John Williams' *Gomer, Second Part*, 1854, p. 57. See further Miss Paton, *Radcliffe Coll. Monog.*, XIII, 240 ff.

<sup>1</sup> But not published. Cf. *Mem.*, I, 418, 436. On the bibliography of the *Idylls*, see Jones, *op. cit.*, 45 ff., 159 ff.; T. J. Wise, *A Bibliography of . . . Tennyson*, 1908, pp. 148 ff., 161, 241.

<sup>2</sup> *Mem.*, II, 121, 129. Tennyson's belief was of course shared by a long line of authorities. Cf. Owen, *Camb. Biog.*, pp. 13 ff.; R. H. Fletcher, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, IX, s.v. Arthur in Index.

<sup>3</sup> The passage in Price's account runs: *Yn mhlith y gwronion o'r ardaloedd yma, nid cyflawn fyddai annghofio enw Geraint ab Erbin, yr hwn oedd dywyssog o'r dalaeth a elwid Dyfnaint, [Devon] a'r hwn a elwir yn y Trioedd, yn un o'r "Tri Llynghesawg ynys Brydain"* (*Hanes Cymru*, p. 275). Geraint had already been treated as historical by Owen (*Camb. Biog.*, p. 130), by Davies (*op. cit.*, p. 379, note), and by Turner (*Vindication*, pp. 172 ff.) See also *Cambrian Register*, 1818, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Printed also in the *Myvyrian*, I, 101; Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 1868, I, 266 ff.; II, 37 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Nicoll and Wise, *Lity. Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, 1896, II, 233.



in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, the *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain* (1829), the *Iolo Manuscripts* (1848), and a volume entitled *Barddas; or a Collection of Original Documents, Illustrative of the Theology, Wisdom and Usages of the Bardo-Druidic System of the Isle of Britain*, the latter published in 1862 with a translation and notes by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, whose too ready acceptance of Iolo Morganwg's documents irritated Matthew Arnold. The last-named work is probably the *Barddas*<sup>1</sup> of which the first volume came into Tennyson's possession in 1867.<sup>2</sup> Both *Barddas* and the *Iolo Manuscripts* give prominence to the oft-quoted bardic motto, *Y gwir yn erbyn y byd* (the truth against the world),<sup>3</sup> which Tennyson claimed as his favorite and in 1868 had prominently emblazoned on the threshold of Aldworth.<sup>4</sup> In 1869 he recommended it as "a very old British apothegm" to the Tennyson Society of Philadelphia,<sup>5</sup> and in "Harold" (published 1876) he put it into the mouth of the hero (II, ii, 218).

In 1881, according to J. C. Walters,<sup>6</sup> Tennyson was elected vice-president of the Welsh National Eisteddfod.

Most of the books used by Tennyson overemphasize the antiquity of bardic tradition and in some cases their conclusions are vitiated by fantastic theories regarding the philosophy and religion of the ancient Celts,<sup>7</sup> but the important fact which triumphantly emerges from the material presented above is that Tennyson made an honest effort to ground his *Idylls* on the most reputable authorities of his day.

TOM PEETE CROSS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

<sup>1</sup> Apparently no more were published.

<sup>2</sup> *Mem.*, II, 49 f. Tennyson's way of referring to the book makes it likely that this is the work meant rather than R. J. Prys's *Barddas y Cymry*, Part I, 1851. Cf. *Arch. Camb.*, N.S., III, 160.

<sup>3</sup> Also quoted by Owen, *Heroic Elegies*, p. xxv, and by Price, *Hanes Cymru*, pp. 49 f.

<sup>4</sup> See *Tennyson and His Friends*, p. 250; H. J. Jennings, *Lord Tennyson*, 1884, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> *Mem.*, II, 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Tennyson: Poet, Philosopher, and Idealist*, 1893, p. 359.

<sup>7</sup> See Stephens, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and D. W. Nash, *Taliesin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain*, 1858.